

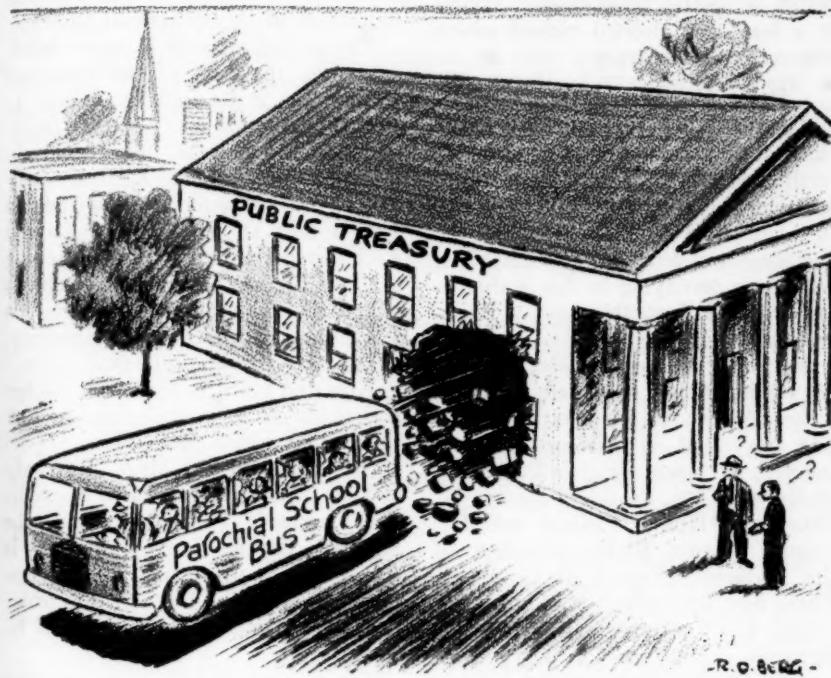
CHURCH AND STATE

A MONTHLY REVIEW



VOL. 10 NO. 7

JULY 1957



Connecticut Leaders Bow to Church Threat, Pass Bus Bill by One Vote

Spurred by the direct intervention of Archbishop Henry J. O'Brien of Hartford, the Roman Catholic lobby in Connecticut succeeded in forcing the parochial school bus subsidy bill through the House of Representatives on May 29. The vote was 134 to 133. A deadlock, 133 to 133, was resolved when the Speaker of the House, Nelson C. L. Brown, a Congregationalist, came through with the tie-breaking vote. The Senate had previously approved it 31 to 5. Governor Abraham Ribicoff signed the bill into law without comment.

The new law permits local communities to provide transportation for parochial school pupils at public expense.

Meade Alcorn, Republican National Chairman, got into the act before the final vote. Apparently fearful lest the Democrats get all the credit for passing Archbishop O'Brien's bill, Alcorn on May 27 urged Republican assemblymen to get behind the measure.

The bus bill came back from ap-

parent defeat to become law. The House of Representatives on May 22 had voted 138 to 103 to send the bill back to committee. The action, to all practical intent, killed the bill for this year.

Naked Threat

It was then, with his back to the wall, that Archbishop O'Brien determined on direct intervention to save the bill which had been drafted under his guidance. The diocesan publication, *The Transcript*, splashed an editorial called "Rule or Ruin" across its front page. The editorial accused the Republican Party of making the

bus bill a "political issue." It charged that anyone who opposed the bus subsidy for the Roman Catholic schools was a bigot. Then, rising to the heights of arrogant effrontery, the editorial ended with this naked threat: "A political issue can only be corrected at the polls. This one will be."

Some of the legislators, terrified by this threat, hastily prepared a petition and secured the necessary 140 signatures to force the bill back to the floor of the House. But Archbishop O'Brien went further still. Determined to get his bill through at any cost, he prepared a letter to be read in every Mass in Connecticut on May 26. The letter appeared over his signature and those of his colleagues, Bishop Lawrence J. Shehan of Bridgeport and Bishop Bernard J. Flanagan of Norwich. In this letter Roman Catholics were urged to destroy the political career of any man who dared to oppose the Archbishop's bill in the Connecticut Assembly. Said the prelate: "As the matter (the parochial bus bill) is . . . of the most acute concern to so many of our Catholic parents and children since more than 62% of the children born in Connecticut in 1956 are Catholic, you should carefully observe the action taken, especially that of your local representative."

Even this is not the full story. In a letter to *The Republican*, May 30, 1957, (Waterbury, Conn., daily) Mrs. Ruth A. Jones, a member of the Assembly, has depicted the searing pressure to which individual members of that body were subjected by the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church. Said Mrs. Jones:

... I especially regret that a pointed religious discussion was forced upon us in open debate. This was the result of action taken by the Catholic Church alone. . . . I personally feel that good interfaith relations in our state have been set back many years.

(POAU has reprints of Mrs. Jones'

(Continued on page 6)

• Editorial •

Connecticut Story

The passage of the bill making possible bus transportation of parochial school pupils at public expense in Connecticut should shock everyone who believes in the American way in Church-State relations. It is not merely the fact of its passage but the manner of its passage that proves disquieting. The bill was passed as the result of a bold and undisguised interference in Connecticut politics by Archbishop Henry J. O'Brien of Hartford. This is exultantly asserted by the Roman Catholic press and generally conceded by all who have knowledge of the situation.

The Softening Up

"Operation Connecticut" was carefully readied by the hierarchy. As far back as 1951 a beginning was made when a place was found on the State Board of Education for Richard Joyce Smith, an outspoken proponent of state aid to Roman Catholic schools and a willing tool of the hierarchy. From his vantage point in the ruling body of public education, Smith led the drive for subsidies to sectarian education. (See analysis of his views in *Church and State*, January, 1957.)

The next step involved slipping through the Assembly in its closing hours a "non-controversial" bill calling for a "study" of education in Connecticut. The "study" began immediately to feature the contribution being made to Connecticut education by parochial schools. Speaking wherever he could get a hearing, Richard Joyce Smith would cite the "study" as proof of the need to subsidize the parochial schools from state funds.

Clerical Action

Despite this careful campaign the bill drafted under the direction of Archbishop O'Brien appeared doomed. (See story in this issue.) What drove the bill through the assembly was the act of the Archbishop in injecting his church directly into the struggle. Not content with being an operator behind the scenes, Archbishop O'Brien and his colleagues publicly promised to "get" any legislator who dared to vote against the church subsidy.

Referring to the political action of the prelates in an address to 12,000 at the Southern Baptist Convention on May 31, Glenn L. Archer said:

This is a grim business and it may lead

to some pretty serious consequences. These men who would irresponsibly divide loyal Americans along religious lines ought to think carefully what they do. It is to be earnestly hoped that such a maneuver will not be repeated.

All Americans who love their country ought to echo Mr. Archer's hope. Yet we are faced with the possibility that the hierarchy may indeed repeat this maneuver wherever it feels it has sufficient strength to intimidate political leaders. Few will seriously suppose that such political interference by the Roman Catholic hierarchy will result in "better government." There is a long and doleful record which argues to the contrary.

Page the Non-Partisans

The prospect of political parties that follow sectarian lines has always frightened Americans. The frankly sectarian political appeal carried out in Connecticut communities under the signature and direction of Archbishop O'Brien is terrifying in that it threatens us with just this unhappy denouement.

In the *New York Times* of July 29, 1956, there appeared a story, "Three Faiths Ask No Election Bias." The story told of proposals originating with Archbishop Edwin V. O'Hara of Kansas City, President George N. Shuster of Hunter College and Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, president of the National Council of Churches. These men, and others of like stature, called for "non-partisan and non-sectarian committees" in every community "to keep a watchful eye on campaign activities and to call to the attention of political leaders any instances of appeals based upon religious or racial prejudices."

Mr. Archer's comment on the non-partisan committees is interesting:

I wonder if there was such a committee functioning in Connecticut last month, and if so what it did about this political appeal based on religious prejudice.

False Witness

One other phase of the Connecticut story deserves comment. This is the apparent willingness of the hierarchy to falsify and fabricate in order to win. We offer two examples. In his letter threatening reprisals at the polls Archbishop O'Brien noted that the U. S. Supreme Court has "ruled long since that public welfare benefits cannot be withheld" from pupils of religious schools, and that "every state bordering on Connecticut has already provided bus service for such pupils."

There is, of course, no truth in this statement. What the U. S. Supreme

Court actually ruled was that *individual* Roman Catholics, or *individual* members of any other sect, may not be discriminated against as *individuals*. As a matter of fact the Court specifically stated in the *Everson* case that nothing in its decision was to be taken as impugning the right of a state to provide transportation for public school pupils only. The *Everson* decision certainly did not authorize parochial school bus transportation. The justices merely held 5 to 4 that no federal question was involved and that the matter was remanded to the individual states.

The second instance is one of fabrication on the part of the Hartford archdiocese in its reply to Glenn L. Archer's charges of "political interference." Spokesman for the archdiocese, Msgr. John S. Kennedy, editor of the *Transcript*, asserted on June 1 that Dr. Archer had charged Archbishop O'Brien with threatening to close the state's parochial schools if the Assembly refused to pass his bus bill. This, said Msgr. Kennedy, is "a prime example of falsification."

Now the truth is that Mr. Archer had made no such statement at any time. The whole thing was apparently concocted by Msgr. Kennedy and his superiors in order to discredit Mr. Archer's charges before the Southern Baptist Convention. This is the old trick of setting up a straw man and knocking him down in order to divert attention from the real issues.

The Connecticut Story raises some
(Continued on next page)

Church and State

Published Monthly (except August) by
Protestants and Other Americans United for
Separation of Church and State
D. C. 2-4044

1633 Mass. Ave., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
Minimum Annual POAU Membership \$2.00,
\$2.00 of which is for Annual Subscription
to *Church and State*

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post
Office at Washington, D. C.
Member of Associated Church Press

President Charles C. Morrison Vice-Presidents
Treasurer E. H. DeGroot, Jr. G. Bromley Oxnam
John A. Mackay
J. M. Dawson

Recording Secretary
Frank H. Yost

Executive Director Glenn L. Archer Associate Director
C. Stanley Lowell

Dir. of Organization

John C. Mayne

Director of Research

Stanley Lichtenstein

Special Counsel

Paul Blanshard

Executive Committee

The Officers, with

Louie D. Newton, Chairman; Miss Charl
Ormond Williams, Clyde W. Taylor, Harold C.
Fitz, Ellis H. Dana, Edward B. Willingham,
W. K. Haddock, C. Emanuel Carlson

Editor

Glenn L. Archer

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

John C. Mayne Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

Editor

Managing Editor

C. Stanley Lowell

Contributing Editors

Paul Blanshard

(Continued from page 2)

serious questions. Does this operation indicate that the Roman Catholic hierarchy is determined to force the subsidy issue in every state where it feels there is a chance to win? Will the hierarchy not only "play politics" as it has done so long, but now overtly engage in politics as well? Will "voting orders" be given to American Catholics as they are now being given to Catholics in West Germany and as they have long been given to Catholics in Italy? Will the laity of the Roman Church blindly follow its clerical leadership? Is there to be a clerically controlled "Catholic bloc" that will be delivered to the party promising the most for the church? Will there be an "anti-clerical" movement of Protestants and Roman Catholics uniting to curb the power of the Roman clergy?

These are serious questions; they deserve serious answers.



The poem below was written in honor of William B. Massey, 33°, of St. Louis, on the occasion of his 75th birthday. The poem reflects Mr. Massey's life-long devotion to a cause.

FREEDOM:

Not Gift But Goal

Freedom does not stand alone.
It is nothing
Apart from those who envisioned it.
Nothing,
Apart from those who sustain it.

Neither Constitutions nor laws
Can sustain liberty.
Liberty stands only
When men stand for it!

Freedom was born of the agony
Of innumerable blood sacrifices.
What has man not suffered for freedom!

Shall we forget this debt?

Did not those in the grip of slow death
thus address us?

"Now be ye friends, heirs of my goal;
To you I throw the golden ball."*

We are rich inheritors,
But are we worthy this golden gift?
Freedom so accepted is *surrender!*
Oh, death of freedom!

Freedom's twin is eternal vigilance.
Check and prove it by this sign,
Its heaven is the open mind.
If a captive, though the bars be golden,
It will strain tamelessly for release,
Its only sustenance against surcease.

Caroline G. Nations

*Nietzsche.

NEWS From Far and Near

◆ The display of the Ten Commandments in public school classrooms is an "unsound educational practice," New York State Education Commissioner James E. Allen, Jr., ruled on June 12. Dr. Allen pointed out that the public schools, forbidden to enter into religious controversy, are necessarily prohibited from "free and full discussion" of the Commandments, and a limited discussion would "detract from their significance and their force." The action of Union Free District No. 5 (New Hyde Park) in displaying the Decalogue, he noted, had stirred up "dissension detrimental to the well-being of the school" (*Church and State*, March). Dr. Allen's ruling led State Assemblyman William C. Brennan, Jr., of Queens, to announce that he would introduce a bill at the next legislative session requiring every public school to post the Commandments.

◆ "The Vatican has just designated two Americans as its permanent representatives to the UN, particularly on matters of atomic energy. The two are Frank Folsom of RCA and Father Hesburgh of Notre Dame University."—From Leonard Lyons' column of May 17.

◆ Repeal of Minnesota's 1955 law allowing income tax deductions for fees paid to parochial schools was urged by the state Presbyterian Synod as it met at St. Paul in June. A special committee report held that the law was "the foot of the camel in the tent of separation [of church and state]."

◆ Appointment of a Philippine ambassador to the Vatican has been delayed by action of the Congress in Manila slashing the government's budget request for the embassy from \$33,000 to \$9,410. According to "the Brooklyn Tablet" of May 25, the Philippine Congress approved the ambassadorship last year "despite protests of a vocal minority that such a move would be a violation of the constitutional principle of separation of Church and State. . . . Heretofore, the Philippine Ambassador to Spain has served as unofficial envoy to the Vatican."

◆ The State of Arizona is making a study of tax exemption of religious organizations, according to the *Los Angeles Examiner* of May 19. It was discovered that business men were offering their property to church groups with the idea that they would split the take from the religious tax exemption. Taxes were being levied on the income-producing property of religious and educational groups which had hitherto enjoyed exemption.

◆ The politically independent newspaper, "Sueddeutsche Zeitung" of Munich, Germany, assailed Chancellor Adenauer on June 6 for pushing the German people in the direction of a one-party state on the Portuguese model. Adenauer, leader of the Christian Democratic Union, a Roman Catholic party which includes a smattering of Protestants, had said in a June 3 electioneering speech at Passau, Bavaria, that the vote in the September 15 general election would decide whether Europe would remain Christian or go Communist. On the day before, Bishop Michael Keller of Muenster had told 500 Catholic Trade Union delegates that practicing Catholics could not in good conscience vote for Social Democrats because their party did not follow "natural law." Similarly, Archbishop Lorenz Jaeger of Paderborn had warned members of the Catholic Students and Teachers Association on June 2 that the post-war attempts at inter-faith cooperation were a result of "indolence and cowardice." Newspapers noted pointedly that French clerics had taken a contrasting position.

◆ The Polish parliament passed a bill late in May to lighten the tax burden of churches, equalizing their position as compared with social organizations. Previously, churches had been required to pay higher land taxes than other organizations.

◆ On May 28, according to the "Washington News," Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury, said: "There is a lot of direct hostility to the Church. . . . The Roman Catholic Church of Britain is waging an open war against the Church of England. . . ." A spokesman described the words as "an official statement, not a casual remark or a trivial comment."

10th National Conference On Church and State

The National POAU office announces that the 10th National Conference will be held on February 10 and 11, 1958 in Atlanta, Georgia. POAU has been invited to meet in First Baptist Church. Those desiring advance information should write to POAU in Washington.

Objectives for Local POAU Chapters

While the national objectives of POAU may be found in the *Manifesto*, some local Chapter objectives are:

1. To unite American citizens locally by organizing an official Chapter, fully staffed by directors, officers and committees, and chartered by the National Board of Trustees.
2. To inaugurate a program of education in Church-State problems under the direction of the Chapter Program Committee.
3. To enlist the interest of outstanding citizens. This is a project of the Chapter Membership Committee.
4. To express POAU's concern for religious freedom for all groups.
5. To assist National POAU to investigate and expose to public view violations of Church-State separation and to aid in curbing and correcting the violations.
6. To set the suggested financial goal for support of the expanding National POAU program.

Now You Can Organize a Chapter!

1. Invite a dozen or more leaders (laymen and clergymen) to meet and talk over Church-State problems in your community, with a view toward organizing a vigorous local POAU Chapter.

Appoint a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman, and a Scribe, and report your progress to National POAU Department of Organization.

2. Apply for an official charter from National POAU, this charter to be formally presented at a future meeting. Full information, and charter applications, may be secured from Washington, D. C.

3. National POAU will assist the local group in selecting the charter

POAU Chapter Program Ideas 1957-58

(Most of these suggestions come from chapters, and are for use of the Chapter Program Committee. Board of Directors meetings are held monthly, but at least four public educational meetings should be scheduled annually.)

AUTUMN—1957

Sponsor a public religious liberty meeting in a suitable auditorium. National POAU will assist in promotion and provide a speaker.

Offer Chapter and national POAU assistance to local clergy in setting up the Reformation Week Celebration.

Organize two or more neighborhood study groups for discussion and research on Church-State problems.

Select Chapter representatives to attend 10th Conference on Church and State, February 10 and 11, 1958, in Atlanta, Georgia.

WINTER—1957-58

Hold annual Chapter meeting in December or January to elect Directors, select officers and act on reports.

Play 9th POAU Conference recording featuring Bishop Kennedy and Paul Blanshard before church, Chapter and other groups.

Launch a POAU membership drive with guidance from the national office.

Hold a public educational meeting with panel of educators and lawyers on subject, "Parochial Bus Transportation and the Future of the Public School."

SPRING—1958

Schedule invitational meeting for clergy and educators to hear report of representatives attending the 10th National Conference.

Co-sponsor with National POAU another public religious liberty rally.

Provide books on religious liberty for public and church libraries, and send CHURCH AND STATE REVIEW to all libraries in Chapter area.

Plan a Church-State book review meeting, featuring a prominent author or librarian. (Send to POAU for book list.)

SUMMER—1958

Provide free POAU literature displays for denominational and educational conferences in your area.

Schedule capable chapter and national speakers for nearby seminaries, clubs and churches for September and October.

Program and Membership committees should meet and announce plans for Chapter action in fall; Public Relations Committee should study and report on Church-State problems in area.

(Additional program suggestions are issued frequently by the POAU Department of Organization, 1633 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Write to Director for information.)

group of 18 Directors, as indicated on the chart.

4. Following official Charter presentation, and after conforming to minimum requirements, the Directors may select six officers, and launch a program of education, membership solicitation, study and action.

Chapters Sponsor National Speakers in Public Rallies

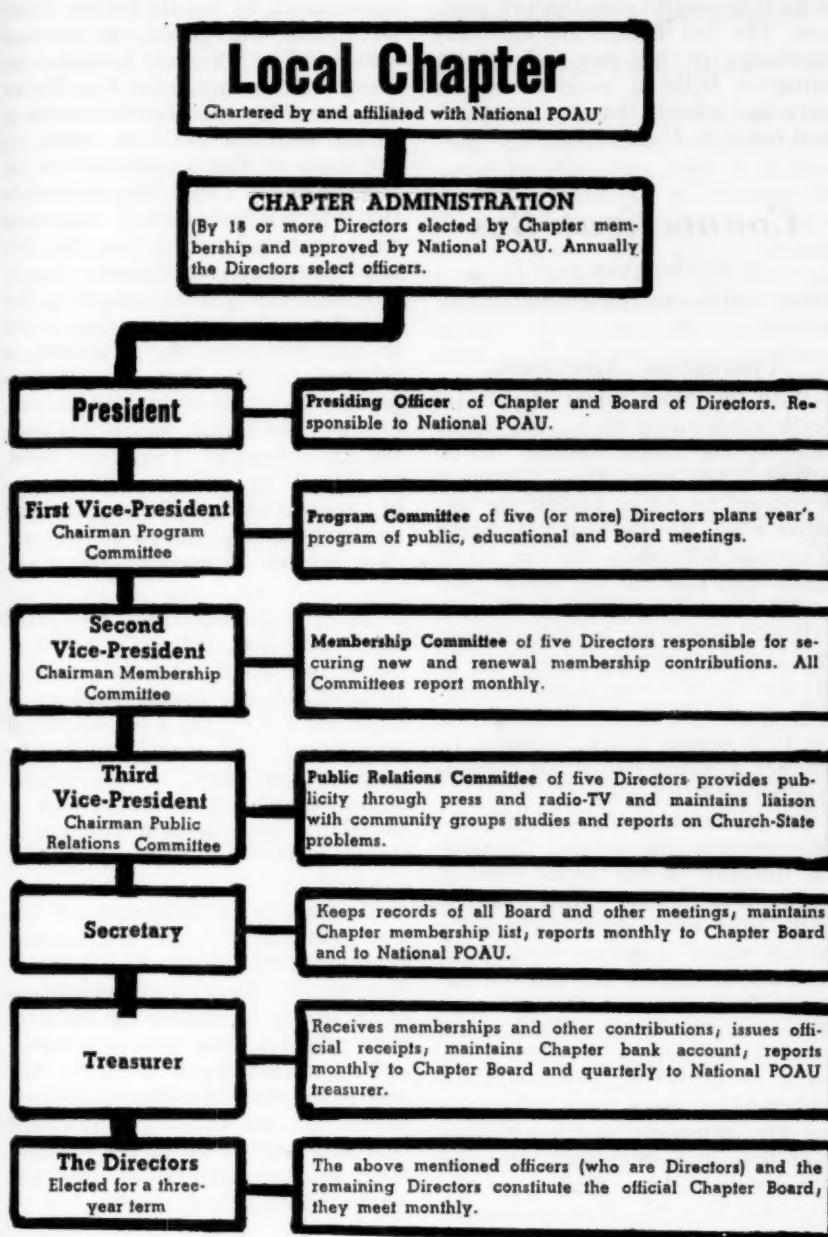
POAU Chapters are continuing to sponsor nationally known speakers in public rallies. In May POAU Executive Director Glenn L. Archer spoke

at freedom rallies in Los Angeles and Chicago. Large attendance was reported in both cities. Mr. Archer addressed the first large public meeting sponsored by the Syracuse, New York, Chapter in June.

Paul Blanshard spoke at a Chapter-sponsored meeting in Portland, Maine; and Dr. Frank H. Yost, POAU recording secretary, addressed the Sacramento, California, Chapter. Associate Director C. Stanley Lowell was the key speaker for the Roanoke, Virginia, religious liberty meeting. Dr. Christie Innis, Toledo POAU official, appeared before the Detroit Chapter POAU rally.

(Continued on next page)

A Working Chart for Chapter Organization



New POAU Items and Recordings

Three new POAU items are now available:

- "Courageous Legislator Speaks to American People," by Ruth A. Jones, Member, Connecticut Legislature. Describes pressure of hierarchy to pass bus bill. (2c each; 100 copies for \$1.50 plus postage)
- "Liberty of Soul—America's Unique Contribution," by Dr. J. Howard Williams, Southwestern Baptist Seminary. Address at 9th Conference in Los Angeles. (5c each; 12 copies, 50c; 100 copies, \$3.00; 500 for \$10.00.)
- "The Ramparts We Watch," by POAU Executive Director Glenn L. Archer. Address at 1957 Southern Baptist Convention, Chicago. (5c each; 12 copies, 50c; 100 for \$2.50; 500 for \$10.00.)
- 9th Conference Recordings Set. Addresses of Bishop Gerald H. Kennedy and Paul Blanshard. 2 records, 4 sides, 33 1/3 r.p.m. Play on any 3-speed phonograph. \$4.00 per set.

To POAU Literature Department
1633 Mass. Ave. N.W., Washington 6, D.C.
Please ship the items indicated above.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Z. State _____

Enclosed \$ _____. Please send literature list (_____) _____

Chapter Rallies

(Continued from page 4)

Dr. Archer made a major address before the Southern Baptist Convention in Chicago, and also addressed Methodist Conferences at Clearfield and Erie, Pennsylvania, as well as the Wesleyan College commencement at North Chili, New York. Mr. Lowell spoke to the Methodist N. Y. East

Conference in Brooklyn, New York, and to meetings in Danville and Fredericksburg, Virginia. Paul Blanshard addressed the Indiana Methodist Conference at Bloomington. John C. Mayne spoke to the Iowa Methodist Conference at Des Moines.

Two-day regional POAU meetings are being scheduled for Buffalo, September 12 and 13, and for Boston during the last week in September.

Hits Monopoly



GENE SPURLOCK PHOTO

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of the Washington Area of the Methodist Church hailed the establishment of a new School of International Service at the American University in a commencement address there June 10 (above). Bishop Oxnam declared that those desiring foreign service training in Washington "can find it only at Georgetown University." "It is natural, perhaps even proper," he said, "that students trained by Jesuits in a Jesuit institution should graduate conditioned favorably to Vatican world policy. For us, this conditioning raises serious questions. . . . It is not being anti-Catholic to stress the fact that the Roman Catholic Church does not believe in religious liberty as we understand it. . . . Protestants are pledged to the same freedom for Roman Catholics that they want for themselves."

+

Church Stages Come-Back Via U. S. Subsidies

When Rep. John W. McCormack (D., Mass.) slipped his bill through the 84th Congress calling for generous subsidies to his denomination (the Roman Catholic Church) in the Philippines, POAU predicted that the bill would not only pay the claims outstanding but that it would inspire a whole new rash of claims. Truer words were never spoken. The breakdown of the new claims—over \$29 million in all—was given in the May *Church and State*.

A story from Manila in the *Christian Century*, May 22, describes the amazing come-back the Roman Church has made in the islands. The *Sentinel*, national publication of the denomination, presents a glowing report which clearly reflects the generous U. S. subsidies this church has received. In two years the number of

seminarians had risen from 1,897 to 2,186 and the number of priests from 2,677 to 2,938. The directory lists 303,970 students in Roman Catholic schools as against 248,596 two years ago. The last figures are especially significant in that they indicate the extensive building program of the parochial schools that has been carried out with U. S. funds.

+

Connecticut Bus

(Continued from page 1)

classic statement. Single copy, 2c plus postage.)

Courageous Americans

With this blunt threat of political death confronting them, 133 members of the House refused to be bullied. They wrote their testament of courage by voting against the sectarian grant. But the men and women of courage fell short—one vote, to be exact—and now the tax money barrier has been broken by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Connecticut. Political leaders speculated as to whether the hierarchy would immediately press for further subsidies at the 1959 session of the Assembly or whether it would pause and consolidate before striking again.

The jubilation in the Roman Catholic press was unrestrained. Drinking full draughts of the heady wine of victory, *Our Sunday Visitor* bragged in its issue of June 9: "The bill's passage was a significant victory for the Catholic bishops and laity of the state, who had vigorously supported it."

Not the End

Meanwhile, there were indications that the defenders of Church-State separation in Connecticut were far from through. After hearing an address by Rev. C. Stanley Lowell, associate director of POAU, the New York East Conference of the Methodist Church with 110 parishes in Connecticut unanimously passed a resolution which commended the 133 Connecticut legislators who "stood firm for American principles in spite of the threats of reprisal from the Roman Catholic hierarchy."

The resolution then added: "We call for immediate action to test the constitutionality of this measure and we urge an organization in each town to combat the next step which would draw support from the budget of local schools."

Rep. E. O. Smith of Mansfield, chairman of the Assembly's Educa-

tion Committee, had previously promised a court test if the bus bill should pass. He had declared: "Prompt litigation is in prospect if public funds are released by statute for the benefit of any but public or common schools." The Mansfield lawmaker indicated (according to the *New Haven Register*, May 9), that the challenge to the new law would be made on the basis of the seventh article on religion of the Connecticut Constitution which stipulates that no person shall be compelled by law "to join or support any congregation, church, or religious association." Smith called attention to the word "support" which he said was especially significant in relation to the new law. Others pointed to article eight, section two, of the constitution which describes the school fund as "a perpetual fund, the interest of which shall be inviolably appropriated to the support and encouragement of the public or common schools throughout the state. . . ."

Many of the legislators who voted for Archbishop O'Brien's bill evidently had doubts as to its constitutionality, for the House, on June 3, approved 148 to 101 a constitutional amendment that would specifically sanction the parochial bus grants. (The amendment would require a two-thirds vote in both House and Senate in 1959 and then approval by the voters.)

Meanwhile the aftermath of the bus fight had brought a disturbing development in Connecticut politics. Apparently there were politicians quite willing to exploit the unfortunate religious issue for the sake of getting elected. Inspired by the victory in the Assembly, Martin F. Armstrong, Jr., an attorney, announced that he would run for mayor of Stamford on the platform of free bus service for parochial schools.

CHAPLAINS AND NUNS CONTINUE TAX-FREE

More than a year after Paul Blanshard, POAU special counsel, raised the issue at hearings, the Treasury Department has handed down a ruling on the tax status of nun public school teachers and Roman Catholic chaplains. It is contained in a letter signed by H. T. Swartz, Director, Rulings Division, dated June 13. The ruling: Nuns teaching in public schools and chaplains who are members of orders will continue their tax-free status. It appeared that the only relief lay in legislative action.

Opelousas (La.) Hospital Falls to Church Control

"The hospital will be administered entirely by the Sisters of the Marianites of Holy Cross." This statement, appearing in a story published in the *Beaumont Enterprise*, Louisiana, on May 26, refers to the "new million-dollar Opelousas General Hospital on Prudhomme Lane," an institution built with public tax funds.

"A federal grant from Hill-Burton funds of \$560,282 was obtained," *Enterprise* correspondent Lillian Bourdier notes, "and property owners of the first ward of the parish voted a \$350,000 bond issue to help defray cost of construction and a one-mill maintenance tax."

The action at Opelousas was in contrast with that taken in April by determined citizens of Ponchatoula and Hammond who blocked a similar "give-away" plan for a \$900,000 tax-supported hospital in their area (*Church and State*, May). Local clergymen, state Masonic leaders, and POAU—represented by Special Counsel Paul Blanshard—had helped to rally the taxpayers against the "give-away," and a firm letter pointing to the scheme's conflict with Article 4, Section 8 of Louisiana's constitution (forbidding tax support of church institutions) resulted in the resignation of the Hospital Service Board and abandonment of the plan.

Can Be Stopped

As *Church and State* pointed out in its June editorial, such encroachments can be stopped, and no community has to languish under clerical blight if its citizens have the will to resist.

The full extent of the outrage at Opelousas can be better appreciated by considering the following passage from a May 27 Religious News Service dispatch:

"CLEVELAND (RNS)—The Roman Catholic hospital is different from the ordinary hospital because it is essentially a religious and charitable institution, Archbishop Edward F. Hoban, Bishop of Cleveland, said here. He gave the keynote address to the 42nd annual convention of the Catholic Hospital Association of the U. S. and Canada.

"Although its immediate purpose is to provide the best possible professional care in order to restore patients to health, the archbishop said, 'the ultimate and essential purpose of the Catholic hospital is the same as

that of the Catholic Church—the sanctification and salvation of souls."

+

POAU Opposes Compulsion In Baccalaureate Rites

Public school authorities in Marshall County, West Virginia, were urged by POAU on May 23 to take the compulsion out of Moundsville High School's traditional baccalaureate services. Twenty-two Roman Catholic senior class members had been forbidden to participate in the school's 1957 commencement exercises because of the use of the Simpson Methodist Church for the services.

"The baccalaureate service holds an honored place among our graduation traditions," said POAU Executive Director Glenn L. Archer, "but in the very nature of the case attendance at such a function could not be made compulsory. There are always certain religious minorities, as well as secularists and atheists, whose convictions will not permit them to join in an occasion of common worship. . . . Here in the United States persons are never coerced where religious practice and belief are concerned."

After the twenty-two students had failed to attend the church baccalaureate services on the night of May 19, Marshall County Schools Superintendent Louis R. Potts barred them from the May 20 commencement exercises, saying: "The board of education has had a rule and regulation for at least twenty-five years requiring all members of graduating classes of Moundsville High School to attend both the baccalaureate and commencement exercises in order to receive high school diplomas and complete their educational requirements." School Principal L. D. Winant indicated that the twenty-two would be permitted to graduate, but without benefit of public participation. The Rev. B. F. Farrell, parish priest of the protesters, declared that the baccalaureate rites were a "violation of

the right of free exercise of religion." (See, also, *Church and State*, July, 1955.)

Congress Is Alerted On 'Slum Clearance'

In a statement filed by POAU on June 4 with the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Congress was asked to observe closely all slum clearance programs lest they result in "violation of the American tradition which has denied tax funds to churches."

The statement offered as an example of POAU's concern a proposed expenditure of one and a half million dollars to purchase the land and clear it of buildings (some of them new and modern) surrounding St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church in Philadelphia. After commenting on the great enhancement which this expenditure would give to the church and its program, the POAU statement quoted Judge Edwin O. Lewis, chairman of the Advisory Commission of the Park. He said at an earlier hearing:

We do not think it appropriate to attempt to make this church (St. Joseph's) into a modern, more successful parish church. I do not think that is the function of our National Park Commission nor the function of Congress.

Rev. C. Stanley Lowell, Associate Director of POAU, who presented the statement, made it clear that his organization was not opposed to church shrines as such. He pointed out, however, that a shrine ought to be a shrine. It should "not continue its function as a parish church of its denomination."

The POAU statement also contained an analysis of the contentions of St. Joseph's Church that it deserved recognition as a "national shrine of liberty." Commenting on this point Lowell said: "It is our judgment that the claims of Old St. Joseph's (in this connection) have little substance."

In a separate statement Lowell called attention to "an amazing arrangement" in the Lincoln Square re-development program in New York City being carried out under Title One of the Federal Housing Act. "A parish church (St. Matthew's) is to receive a new setting for its church and convent," he pointed out, "and a church college, Fordham, is to receive a new campus—all on valuable land paid for in large part by the Federal Government and the city of New York."

QUOTE OF THE MONTH

Fr. Richard Ginder in "Our Sunday Visitor": "We are tolerant and friendly to Billy Graham and company just as we are to the Lutherans, Presbyterians and Jehovah's Witnesses. However, our tolerance and friendliness exist only at the social and civil level. It stops dead where religion enters in."

'Papal Subjects'



RELIGIOUS NEWS SERVICE

When Congressmen Rooney of New York (left) and McCormack of Massachusetts (right) were made Knights Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great, with Star, by the Pope's U. S. Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Cicognani (center), on April 17, they were getting an award intended, according to "The National Catholic Almanac," for "subjects of the Papal States." Their acceptance of the award was unconstitutional, as POAU pointed out. A bill was then slipped through Congress to make the transaction "legal," but POAU—noting that it implied recognition of the Vatican as a foreign power—urged a veto. Full story in next issue.

+

Calls for New U. S. Tie To Papal 'Weathervane'

The latest writer to beat the drum for renewal of United States diplomatic relations with the Vatican is William Richardson, who, in his May 26 column in the *New York Post*, wondered whether the United States was not "depriving itself of a valuable weathervane of public opinion in many parts of the world as a result of its non-representation in Vatican City."

In speaking of the Vatican as a

"weathervane," Richardson was more accurate than he knew—for the history of the Holy See's dealings with the secular powers of the world reveals a shifting, opportunistic, Kremlin-like strategy of political conquest. Richardson is deeply impressed with the list of recent visitors to the Pope—including "the Vice-President of the U. S.; the Chancellor of Federal Germany; the President of France; the leader of the British Socialist Opposition; and the Primate of Poland." But he neglects to mention other equally important "contacts" which the Pope has had—e.g., with Dictator Trujillo of the Dominican Republic (*Church and State*, April, 1956); with Nazi German agents who learned through the Vatican of the Allies' plans for invasion of North Africa (*Church and State*, July, 1950); with ex-Dictators Peron of Argentina and Rojas of Colombia, both of whom came to power with the backing of the Roman Catholic Church only to be deserted by the Church when it became clear that their regimes were doomed; with the late Benito Mussolini, who signed a concordat and Lateran Pact recognizing Vatican "sovereignty" and was supported by the Church in such enterprises as the conquest of Ethiopia; and with Franco of Spain. This is of course only a partial list.

The present Pope, like others before him, has been willing to do business with anyone whenever he thought it might advance Vatican

interests. He would like to do business with the United States for the same purpose, and for no other. And the Vatican will continue to serve as a "valuable listening post" for the enemies of America fully as much as it may do so for nations whose interests seem to coincide with ours.

Principle

Finally, there is the question of principle, which the grand strategists consider too trivial to even mention. The United States, with its unique dedication to the principle of church-state separation, cannot recognize the Pope as a head of state without abandoning its own ideals. Fortunately, the good sense of the American people has forced our government back on the right road after several lapses in the past. POAU is deeply concerned that there shall be no future lapses. If another lapse does occur, the entire citizenry must speak out again as with one mighty voice.

+

Calif. High Court

Approves "Loyalty Oath"

By the narrowest possible margin, 4-3, the California Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of a law requiring a "loyalty oath" from churches as a condition for tax exemption. The Religious News Service account of the decision (April 26) points out that four churches had challenged the law: First Methodist of San Leandro, First Unitarian of Berkeley, First Unitarian of Los Angeles and People's Church of San Fernando Valley, Los Angeles County.

Appeal

The litigants have announced that the decision would be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In a scathing dissent Justice Carter declared that the law aimed "to stamp out by any means at hand the promulgation of unpopular ideas." He added that "devotion to Americanism often calls for something more than conformity."

According to Justice Traynor, another dissenter, the law "inhibits free discussion" and "arbitrarily assumes that those who seek tax exemption advocate overthrow of the government unless they declare otherwise." Justice Traynor asserted that the majority ruling went "far beyond the U.S. Supreme Court decision in upholding legislation that restricts the citizen's right to speak freely."

JULY 1957, VOL. 10, NO. 7

CHURCH AND STATE

Monthly Organ of

Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation
of Church and State

1633 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.